THE LIBERATOR

"COMRADES LET US ALL UNITE."

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DO YOU BEGIN TO SEE, MISTER MITCHELL?

By Horace Traubel.

Do you begin to see, Mister Mitchell? Is it morning? Are you opening your eyes? Is the new day to be the day of a new faith? Or is the new day to be only another old day? You have been in the midst of the fights for a long time. Have you yet learned what the fights mean? Are you to go on from fight to fight, and never discover that there may be one fight that when fought out will put a stop to fight forever? Do you not understand that as long as the trade unions remain merely trade unions fight will remain merely fight and peace on earth and good will to men will remain merely a dream of the enthusiast? You have yourself generalled one campaign after another. You have won battles and lost battles. You have not won the war. Nor can you ever win the war with your present weapons. You can only prolong the war. You can only make it more bitter. You can advance. But advance under the accepted current rules of your war also involves retreat under the same rules. You may go forward. You must also go back. You are settling no problems. The best you can do is to help arrange the terms under which the combatants may enjoy their truces. What are you doing to end the war? What are you doing for the destruction of classes? Your philosophy does not contemplate an end of the fights. It sees fights ahead. Fights many. Fights again and again. It offers to humanity a sliding scale of justice. Not justice complete. Not justice whether or no. But justice if capital can afford it. Justice if capital is willing to concede justice. A piece of justice to the slave of the idea of the whole of justice is offensive to the masters. The laborer has no right to bill and coo with the capitalist. He has a straight case. Let him insist on the straight case. Not a case for fifty per cent or five per cent of right. A case for the whole of right. Shall we go on forever giving away more than we get for the sake of a false peace? The trade union does not mean fraternity. It means fraticide. It never means justice. It means barter. Under the regime of the trade union we give away so much of justice for so much of justice. That is, we give away what is our own in order to get what is also our own. Do you not see, Mister Mitchell, that you are working in a circle? You always come back to where you started from. Good times push you on. Bad times pull you back. You concede. The case does not call for concession either side. It calls for justice. Where does the harvest belong? After you see where the harvest belongs you have no business to arrange to give half of it away in order to be allowed to retain the other half. You say you do the best you can for to-day. That is all right. Do the best you can for to-day. I shall not quarrel with that. I am asking you what you are ready to do for to-morrow? Do you contend that we have got to go on forever giving up the most of justice in order to get the least of peace? What sort of peace is it we get when we give up justice? Do you find that the owning class gives up a cent to the producing class without being compelled to do so? You get what you call good times. Men get jobs. Jobs draw a few cents more of pay. God knows, only a few cents more of pay; a very few cents. A year or two may pass. You get what you call bad times. Work is scarce. Jobs are fewer. There is distress. The people starve. Then men rush to cover. Take jobs on almost any terms they can make. Do you yell hurrah now? Now you are back at the old stand forced to start all over again. This will go on forever under the present system. As long as the personal owner usurps the place of communal ownership this same farce will end in this same tragedy. The fact is, Mr. Mitchell, that the men and women who are realizing this problem are getting tired of the trade union solution. Labor may ask any favor of capital it chooses. Labor and capital are one. The laborer should never ask any favor of the capitalist. The trade union is always suing for something. Is always out with hands stretched toward the proprietors, soliciting the favors of the elect. Is that a pretty situation to which to permanently commit the labor of the world? It means perpetual war. It means more masters and more slaves. It means more surfeit and more starvation. It means more tenements and more palaces. It means that the castes will become more extreme and that the classes will become more extreme. It does not put a stop to hatred between the employer and the employed. It makes that hatred necessary. It makes the utmost vehemence of partizanship the only measure of self protection. Mister Mitchell, I know what your crop is to-day. It is so many parts of injustice to so many parts of justice. The social body is sick. You give it this dose. But your dose does not cure your patient. It only relieves your patient. Do you think you can go on forever with relief, relief, relief, and that your patient will not by and bye get beyond your less and less effective potion? I know what seed you put into the ground yesterday. Your children are starving on it to-day. What seed are you putting into the ground to-day for to-morrow? Seed that will starve or seed that will feast? The world is getting ready for the general seedthrow. The world is going to expect the right harvest. Tho you do not see this, Mister Mitchell, the world sees it. And if you do not soon see it you will find that the world has passed you by. The world is not satisfied to go on submitting to robbery because revolt would hurt the feelings of the robber. The world will before long be getting so far on that it will be a hard or impossible matter for some people to catch up. Peace is a very good thing, Mister Mitchell. But peace at any price is a bad thing. Indeed, there can be no peace at any price. There can only be peace at one price. The price of complete justice for complete justice. The world is tired of proprietor unions and tired of trade unions. The world has got from the castes and the classes all that the world can get from dissention. Now it demands universal fraternity. Not a piece of fraternity in a trade union. Not a piece of fraternity in a proprietor union. The whole of fraternity in a social system without inferiors and superiors. The whole of fraternity in a social system in which all this world belongs in trust to all the people of the world. The whole of fraternity. Do you not begin to see, Mister Mitchell?

THE STRIKERS.

Out on the roads they have gathered,
a hundred thousand men,
To ask for a hold on life as sure as
the wolf's hold in his den.
Their need lies close to the quick of
life as the earth lies close to
the stone;
It is as meat to the slender rib, as
marrow to the bone.

They ask but the leave to labor, to
toil in the endless night,
For a little salt to savor their bread,
for houses water-tight,
They ask but the right to labor and
to live by the strength of their
hands—
They who have bodies like knotted
oaks, and patience like seasands.

And the right of man to labor and
his right to labor in joy—
Not all your laws can strangle that
right, nor the gates of hell destroy.
For it came with the making of man
and was kneaded into his bones,
And it will stand at the last of things
on the dust of crumbled thrones.
—Edwin Markham.

A NEW AND BETTER LIFE.

William L. Wilson.

Life is a curious thing. With its trials and misfortunes it is to many a curse. With its success and its luxury it is to the few only a joy.

From the cradle to the grave "Life" with millions of men and women is like a storm-tossed vessel upon some angry sea, full of struggle and strain, with wreck as the end of all.

We are ushered into this world without our consent, and the "life" thus thrust upon us we are told should be held sacred above all else.

But it is not true to-day that life is the most sacred thing. Under a so-called civilized government gold has usurped the primal place.

The declaration that "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" are the inaleniable rights of every human being has not MADE us free. A man's economic or industrial condition makes him either slave or free. "Theoretical rights" count for nothing unless right industrial conditions prevail.

The man or woman dependent upon the will of another for the necessaries of life is not free. There is neither freedom nor happiness in such a life. Theorizing upon the origin and destiny of life is folly, with the awful problem of poverty still unsolved.

Hunger in the midst of plenty.

WANT, MISERY and a crust for the CREATORS of the nation's wealth.

LUXURY, COMFORT and banquets for the IDLERS.

Honest toil in rags and successful fraud in robes.

This is the important thing, a thousand times more important than to know why Noah built the ark.

"Life," we are told, "is what we make it." It is not, and it never was.

ENVIRONMENT molds our life, environment makes us what we are.

The criminal is not what he is by choice; he is what society has made him.

The mother to be, sitting beneath the roof of poverty, suffering the pangs of cold and hunger, wishes others were as she; hatred for the successful, the happy, the contented, the fortunate, becomes a part of her nature—with which she endows her unborn child.

What else can he be but a criminal? Born with an inherited sense of wrong, an inherited sense of injustice; with a body and mind weakened; with his whole physical, mental and moral nature undermined and degraded by the suffering his mother has endured, by the misery and starvation that has been hers, by the over-work that has been forced upon her.

Temptation has been hers; she has sunk beneath the load, and out of her weakness she begets another weakling, produced not by her, but by the surrounding circumstances which have made her what she is.

"MAN IS A MORAL FREE AGENT!"

It is not true.

It may be that to certain individuals crime and immorality is impossible; it may be that there are certain natures that will suffer death before they will succumb to temptation. But at the very best these natures are extremely rare.

With human beings as with all nature self preservation is the supreme, the all-powerful law. If it be the ONLY WAY to preserve his life, or to PRESERVE THE MEANS OF LIFE, which is the same thing, the average man will shrink from nothing.

We have all read of men who, adrift on a boat at sea, have, as a last resort, driven by the hunger-madness, become for the time-being cannibals. But these same men, restored to normal, to healthful conditions, provided with proper food and given decent surroundings, become once more ordinary, decent human beings, and perhaps look back with wonder and amazement to their temporary transformation into beasts.

Man is NOT a free moral agent. Man does not what he chooses, but what he is compelled to do.

Consider once more our imaginary criminal. When he starts to fight the battle of life he may mean as well as any other man. He wants to make a living, and like any other man, he wants to make that living as easily as he can.

How then shall we keep him honest; how shall we keep him in the "straight and narrow way?"

By exhorting him to be good, by telling him that "virtue is its own reward," and telling him of the rewards of a future life? That is the preachers' way. Oh, if only these poor, foolish preachers could be practicable, if only for a little while they could come down out of the clouds and view life from the standpoint of the material man.

The preachers wail and bemoan the little results their efforts bring. They cry out because in spite of all they do things go from bad to worse; because in spite of everything the evils, the crime, the rottenness in society grows and grows.

Let us tell these preachers that a full stomach full of good food has more power to keep a man in the path of righteousness than volumes of eloquent argument.

Let the preachers wake up and stop preaching against sin and spend their efforts toward the removal of temptation to sin.

That is the Socialist way. We want to give men opportunity to be good. We want to make righteousness easier than crime, then none but the insane would choose to be criminals.

Life to-day is running mad.

Jails, insane asylums, poorhouses, the palaces of prostitution, the hut, the hovel and the slums, filled to overflowing, all testify to the truth of the assertion.

To change these conditions is the aim of Socialism.

To give everyone plenty of the best to eat, the finest and the warmest clothes to wear, beautiful homes for all, to give independence to all—these are the goal of Socialism.

It is because of the absence of these things for the great majority, that life is to-day what it is.

We think in acordance with our surroundings.

Right conditions will create right thoughts, and decent and comfortable surroundings will produce happy and contented human beings.

Filthy, brutal and bestial surroundings must inevitably result in brutal, bestial and degraded minds and people.

Socialism is trying to make the conditions of living conform to the natural laws of human nature. When this will have been done the necessity for government of humanity will cease. The government (or regulation) of the production and distribution of the nation's wealth will be all that is necessary to the happiness of mankind.

And this is Socialism: To get rid of the present outgrown and worn-out system of the private ownership of machinery, which sacrifices the interests and welfare of the great majority to the interest of the small minority of machine owners, and establish a system whereby the MACHINERY WILL BE USED FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL

Help to realize it.—Union Sentinel.

LOOK OUT FOR BLUE PENCIL MARK.

All subscribers finding a *blue mark* on the wrapper of their paper, *must renew immediately* or their names will be dropped from the list.

Subscribe for The Liberator.

THE ANARCHIST SPEECHES

In No. 16 of The Liberator were commenced the publication of the speeches of the Anarchists, delivered in court in Chicago on Oct. 7, 8 and 9, 1887, when asked why sentence of death should not be pronounced upon them. These speeches are their reply. It was their last message to the world and must prove interesting and instructive reading to the most prejudiced as well as the sympathetic. Instructive to the prejudiced-minded, because no person capable of clear reasoning powers can read these speeches and lay them down, and then, allowing the innermost recesses of his heart to speak, he must say, "Those men were innocent of the crime for which they suffered death." They were victims of class hatred.

ALBERT R. PARSONS' SPEECH.

(Continued from last week.)

Your honor, this was the fifth day of May, the day following the Haymarket affair. Mr. Burnett was found and repeated the above facts to the district attorney, reaffirming the statement to which he subsequently swore in court for the defense, that the strange man stood thirty-five feet south of the alley; that he saw him light the fuse and then throw the bomb; that he wore dark clothes; and it was proven on trial that Rudolph Schnaubelt, the man Gilmer implicated, wore light clothes that night, and this Pinkerton man had a mustache and no chin or side whiskers, while Schnaubelt, the Anarchist, had both; and he was a man of medium size, whereas Schnaubelt is noted for his great height; he is six feet two inches. The district attorney had to stultify his own witnesses by the unsupported, manufactured, perjured evidence of Gilmer, because for forty pieces of silver, he was willing to swear that Spies lit the fuse while another man threw the bomb—a very tall man in height, in light clothes, with a light or sandy beard. Gilmer swore that when Fielden was speaking he was looking for a party he expected to find there, "and I went back in the alley between the Crane building and the building on the south of it. I stopped in the alley and noticed some parties in conversation across the alley on the south side. Some one said: 'Here come the police.' There was a man who jumped from the wagon down to the parties somewhere standing on the south side of the alley, and lit a match and touched off something or other, and the man gave a couple of steps forward and tossed it over into the street." Side by side with this, we give the precise words of Mr. Bonfield, as published in the Chicago *Times* of May 5, to a knot of reporters gathered around him at the station house half an hour after the tragedy occurred. He is reported in the *Times* of May 5 to have said: "The exact scene of the explosion is near the center of the street and exactly opposite the alley on the east side which separates No. 9 South Desplaines street from Crane Brothers' foundry. At intervals between this alley and Randolph street there are large, heavy, box-like frames at the edge of the sidewalk, and it is here that the bomb was thrown." Lieutenant Haas located the spot there also as some fifteen feet south of the alley, not in the alley as Gilmer would have it. Yes, the prediction of the Indianapolis stranger was verified. The bomb was heard from, and heard around the world. The purpose avowed in the New York city papers to pick out the leaders and make such examples of them as to scare the others into submission, was put into successful execution, and well was the diabolical and nefarious plot executed. Eight men—"leaders"—three labor editors and five labor organizers and orators—now before you, are here to receive sentence of death in pursuance of that vile plot, of which the Haymarket tragedy, in the hands of a Pinkerton detective, was the entering wedge; and Gilmer's testimony is but a part of a scheme to divert attention from the evidence of twelve witnesses, exclusive of Bonfield's, to the *Times* reporter, that the infernal machine was hurled from fifteen to thirty-five feet south of the alley, just where the short man in dark clothes actually stood when the angel of death was sped on its infernal mission, not only to sacrifice purposely the lives of the policemen on the ground, but that the labor leaders might be arrested and doomed to death under a charge of the commission of the offense, in order, as avowed by the New York *Times*, the agent and representative of the falling stock markets of the east, to scare the other workingmen into submission and frighten them back into the acceptance of the ten hour plan.

The absolute proof that the missle thrown was not dynamite, but what was known in the late civil war as an infernal bomb, is in the evidence of every surgeon who testified that all incisions were clean, and that the flesh was torn as from an explosive in the interior. It was testified by these scientific men, your honor, that dynamite is percussive, and had a shell the size of Lingg's manufacture, on exhibition in evidence, been thrown in the closed ranks of the police, as was this infernal machine, instead of killing but one on the spot, and wounding a few others, it would have blown to unrecognizable fragments the platoons in the vicinity, and the wounds, where there were wounds, would have been as clean as with solid projectiles.

This was an infernal bomb from New York, brought there by the Indianapolis traveler, and not a dynamite bomb, the descriptions in its effect upon its victims, exactly correspond with the description of those explosives, when once used in battle on the Potomac. The hollow bullets within the shell, after entering the victim, exploded, lacerating the flesh and inflicting ugly internal and really infernal wounds.

But, dynamite is an explosive which annihilates its victims. All experiment and experience demonstrates that fact. The State of Illinois, to convict any man for using a dynamite bomb at the Haymarket, must show that it was dynamite; because the absolutely necessary link to connect these defendants with the explosion, (and especially Lingg, whom they charge, and are going to hang, for merely its supposed manufacture by him) is the proof that it was a dynamite bomb, and not an infernal machine, as they were called in war times. The positive proof that it was not such a bomb as Lingg made, lies in the fact that but one man was killed outright, and others being merely wounded, though the bomb fell between two close platoons of heavily massed men.

Six of these condemned men were not even present at the Haymarket meeting when the tragedy occurred. One of them was five miles away at the Deering Harvester Works in Lake View, addressing a mass meeting of 2,000 workingmen. Another was at home in bed and knew not of the meeting being held at all until the next day. These facts, your honor, stand uncontradicted before this court. Only one witness—Gilmer

(Continued on Page 3.)

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FOR NEW YORK CITY.

Attention, Liberator subscribers and comrades generally. There has been a Liberator group formed for the purpose of raising money to publish the paper. We are now arranging meetings, also a social. All who are interested in this propaganda are requested to attend a special meeting to be held at 85 East Fourth street, April 4, 8 p. m. Before leaving Chicago, many subscribers assured me that they would willingly assist when I arrived in New York city. So please don't fail to attend this meeting.

MRS. PARSONS IN NEW YORK.

"All aboard for New York!" With this admonition one soon finds oneself aboard a splendidly equipped train composed of comfortable coaches. We know it is a long run of a fraction less than a thousand miles, so we begin to make ourselves as comfortable as possible. This necessity being attended to, by this time the train is well under way, speeding along at the rate of about 50 miles per hour. We begin to look about us to see who our new-found neighbors are. Just in front of us are two business men; we catch disconnected scraps of their conversation. "Yes, sir, these unions are a curse to the country. When I was in England last fall I had a long conversation with Lord ——, and he stated that trades unions had been the curse of Great Britain, but that by the Taft-Vale and other court decisions the employers had been enabled to eliminate some of the more objectionable features of unionism. He commended our judiciary very highly for some of the injunctions with which he had familiarized himself.

"Why, sir, do you know since we carried the point and gained the open shop we get almost a third more labor from our hands than formerly?"

"Well," replied the other, "I don't care so much about getting so much more work out of them, but the open shop eliminates their arrogance. We can handle them better. Why, their business agents used to pester the life out of me. Now, too, when I wish some work overtime done I am not annoyed to death about over-pay, or time and a half as they termed it, I believe."

"Yes, sir," replied the other, "the closed shop is a nuisance and we must stand pat against it."

So the conversation ran until it became tiresome and monotonous, so we allowed our minds to reflect upon the "good old days," that is, the days before the discovery and application of steam and electricity. What an undertaking would have been a trip from Chicago to New York. There would have been the long months of preparation, the beginning in the winter to be ready by spring so as to be able to make the trip while the weather was fine and the streams within their banks, etc., and now how changed is all this, and so quickly has it been accomplished that there are people still alive who have witnessed all these changes, that is from the horse or ox teams of travel to the wonderful railway. One would have reason to believe, in a world so blessed as ours is, that poverty and want could find no abiding place.

It is a wonderfully interesting trip between New York and Chicago. We come in touch with so many phases of our civilization. Upon the trains there is to be met every class of society: the idler and the worker, the rich have-alls and the poor have-nothings, the giddy-minded and the serious-minded. You will hear a conversation about practically everything under the sun, except the most important of all, the economic question, and this but goes to show what an awful amount of educational work has yet to be done before society is emancipated from the many claims that bind her. So we say to those impatient ones who complain that radical publications contain "dry stuff," that they are not the most important persons to be reached.

The Christian church has been preaching the same dry stuff for over two thousand years and still finds converts. If the average human being is to be affected by any teaching it must be oft-repeated.

But to return to our subject. At this season of the year the whole expanse of country between Chicago and New York is wrapped in a shroud of snow, so we cannot study nature in her beauty, but evidences of man's industry and genius are on every hand. At every station there are evidences of wealth and poverty side by side. But it was the Lehigh Valley that proved most interesting to us at the present time. This railway system leads through the heart of the great anthracite coal region. Think of it, beneath those frowning hills nature stored up her forests, floods and sunbeams; then by her eruptions she covered them deep down, far out of sight, until long ages should elapse, when her children could delve for them and bring them to the surface for light and cheer and comfort. But man, because of his stupidity, is not utilizing these free gifts to all for all. We have passed through this coal region many times, but never before have we seen such heaps and hills of coal brought to the surface. We could hardly believe our own eyes when we saw it. Miles and miles of cars of every description stand along the tracks loaded to the brim with coal, millions of tons piled up all along the tracks ready for shipment.

In anticipation of a demand by the miners for a little better conditions (the wage class never demand a great deal at a time), the coal mine owners have run their mines to their uttermost limit; thousands of laborers who have been working in the mines have taken their savings and gone back to Europe to spend them in anticipation of a long strike. These men were mostly single, so that the brunt of the struggle, if struggle comes, will fall upon men who have the burden of dependent wives and helpless little children upon them.

With all these mountains of coal mined, the companies can snap their fingers in the faces of the miners and say: "Strike if you dare, and we will starve you and yours until you submit to our terms." Can a more cruel, senseless state of society be imagined? What has been said of the hard coal fields can be said with equal truth of the soft coal fields. For verification of our statement we take the following extract from the New York Herald of March 25:

* * *

NO FEAR OF COAL FAMINE.

Anthracite Operators Announce 9,000,000 Ton Reserve Supply Stored Near New York.

Announcement was made yesterday by the anthracite mine operators that they have on hand within a radius of less than one hundred miles of New York city a reserve supply of more than 9,000,000 tons of good marketable grades of anthracite. This is held by the coal operators in addition to the supplies held by the dealers and large consumers.

In accumulating this vast store of coal an army of men has been steadily employed for months. Storage facilities have been increased very largely, in some cases by the leasing of farms along the route of railroads. Many of these spots are isolated, but they are within easy transportation distance from New York.

The operators declare that should a strike come there will be no inconvenience such as attended the disturbances in the anthracite region of 1902.

* * *

How different would all this be if those who mine the coal had a co-operative interest in it, and how much the gain would society be at large.

L. E. P.

MARSHALL FIELD.

A news item, headed "Lucky Little Folks,' says that the three grandchildren of Marshall Field have a heritage of about $40,000,000 each. Whether or not these children are lucky is an open question. There is, however, a more important question to be considered.

Is the Field estate an example of social injustice or did the Chicago millionaire rightfully accumulate his wealth?

It is generally assumed that he earned what he left to these lucky or unlucky children. His case is cited as though it were a sufficient answer to those who claim that no man can, by his own labor, become a multi-millionaire.

The obituary notices speak of Mr. Field as a good millionaire, because, they say, he was a prince of merchants and his fortune was acquired by his superior ability in serving the public.

The praise of Mr. Field as a good millionaire betrays the popular feeling as to millionaires in general. The praise concedes the point that most of our great fortunes are not the earnings of exceptional ability, but rather the fruits of some system of plunder which enriches some at the expense of others.

It will not be denied that Mr. Field got his start by excelling in a legitimate business. Had he been a dry goods merchant and nothing else he might still have been a very rich man. It is useless to speculate as to how rich his ability as a merchant might have made him. No one should begrudge him any amount of wealth which he could accumulate as a storekeeper. Since the dry goods business is open to competition, wealth accumulated in the business must, in the main, be a measure of the merchant's superior ability to serve the public. Such wealth is the fruit of his labor. Each man has a moral right to the full fruit of his labor.

But there were opportunities, created by our bad laws, for Mr. Field to invest his rightful earnings that they yielded him an unearned increment. The greater part of his vast fortune came, no doubt, as a result of these investments. If it had not been for these opportunities, which should never have existed, he could not have left his grandchildren $40,000,000 each.

In proof of this it is only necessary to refer to Mr. Field's holdings of city lands. He owned $40,000,000 worth of Chicago real estate, and $10,000,000 worth of real estate on Manhattan island.

Mr. Field deserves credit for his shrewdness in investing in the land of New York and Chicago. Because such investment enabled him to acquire a fortune without earning it. They enabled him to grow rich at the expense of other people. They enabled him to add to his rightful savings as a merchant the unearned profits of a landlord.

Upon this point Franklin H. Giddings, Professor of Sociology in Columbia University, writes as follows in the New York Independent:

"It so happens that the really desirable parts of the earth's surface are limited in area, and as population grows, the demand for them increases. The narrow island of Manhattan, for instance, is advantageously situated for commercial purposes, and a large number of human beings may be observed here carrying on various industries and trades. Little strips of land on the main thoroughfares have, in consequence, become so valuable that they are now sold, not by the acre, or even by the rood, but at so much a foot, in certain instances even at so much an inch. The men that own these parcels of land do not themselves, as individuals, create its value, they only take it."

Thus Professor Giddings affirms what Henry George has made common knowledge. The case has yet to be cited which proves that a man, "starting with nothing, can, in the United States, amass a fortune of many millions by his own productive effort."

Herbert S. Bigelow.

ADDRESS OF THE FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE GEORGIA EQUAL RIGHT ASSOCIATION.

Two hundred colored delegates from all parts of Georgia met at Macon, February 13-14, 1906, at the call of the veteran editor of the Georgia Baptist, W. J. White. There were present Bishop H. M. Turner, of A. M. E. church; Bishop R. G. Williams, of the C. M. E. church; the Hon. Judson Lyons, ex-register of the treasury; Prof. John Hope, of Atlanta Baptist college; Prof. W. E. B. DuBois and Prof. George A. Towns, of Atlanta university; J. Max Barber, of the Voice of the Negro, and many others.

The meeting was harmonious and enthusiastic, and a permanent organization was formed. At the last mass meeting with 800 persons present, the following address was adopted:

* * *

We colored men of Georgia, representing every district in the State and speaking for more than 1,000,000 human souls, send this statement and plea to the world.

Two races came to Georgia in the early eighteenth century and lived as master and slave. In that long, hard apprenticeship we learned to work, to speak the tongue of the land, and better to know God. We learned this, but we learned it at the cost of self-respect, self-reliance, knowledge and the honor of our women.

This training left us above all ignorant. We are still ignorant, partly by our own fault in not striving more doggedly after knowledge, but chiefly because of the wretched educational opportunities given us in this State. The white and black school populations are nearly equal, and yet out of every dollar of the State school money 80 cents go to the white child and 20 cents to the Negro child; each white child receives $5.92 a year, while the Negro child receives $2.27; white teachers receive over a million dollars a year and Negro teachers less than three hundred thousand. Less than half our children have school facilities furnished them, and not a cent is given by the State to the higher training of Negro teachers and professional men. Of more than a million dollars given by the United States government for agricultural training, we who are pre-eminently the farmers of the State have received only $264,000, and the fund is at present being divided at the rate of $34,000 to the whites and $8,000 to the Negroes.

We are a poor people. Poor in wealth and habit. We are not as efficient laborers as we might be. Yet the accumulated wealth of this great State has been built upon our bowed backs, and its present prosperity depends largely upon us. No portion of the community is giving more of its labor and money to support the public burdens than we; and yet we are not receiving just wages for our toil; we are too often cheated out of our scanty earnings; while the laws that govern our economic life and the rules of their administration are cunning with injustice toward us. Especially true is this in the freedom of labor contracts; so much so that farm labor is almost reduced to slavery in many parts of the State. The ignorant laborer is held in a network of debt and petty crime, compelled to work like a slave, unable to leave his master or to demand decent wages. Vagrancy laws are notoriously oppressive and unfair; laborers are held to unjust contracts, and no wonder that farm laborers are going to the North and West, especially to cities where schools and police protection can be found.

Even in cities and in the more enlightened parts of the State the effort is continually making to force down the wages of black laborers, bar them out of all but a few trades, and to give to no black man, however competent or deserving, any work or wages that the meanest white man may demand.

This treatment has not made us as quick, intelligent and eager as we might be if we received the same encouragement and wages as are being offered foreign emigrants, and if we did not bend under deadening caste restrictions. In this respect Georgia is getting to be one of the worst States in the Union. Unless this commonwealth can learn that laborers do not exist for the sole benefit of the employer, we must certainly advise our people to seek work in other States.

Notwithstanding this treatment we have saved something from our poverty and to-day pay taxes on more than $18,000,000 worth of property. Is it fair that the possessors of this property should have no voice in its government and taxation? Taxation without representation is tyranny.

We do not deny that some of us are not yet fit for the ballot; but we do affirm that the majority of us are fit—fit by our growing intelligence, our ownership of property and our conservative, law-abiding tendencies, and in any case certainly disfranchisement and oppression will not increase our fitness, nor will they settle the race problem. The right to vote is in itself an education and if Georgia had taken as much time and trouble to fit us for political responsibility as she has in denying us our rights, she would have a safer and saner electorate than that which is to-day swaying her by appeals to her worst passions. Voteless workingmen are slaves; without the defense of the ballot we stand naked to the power of our enemies, the helpless victims of jealousy and hate, subjected to, and humiliated by, an unreasoning caste spirit, which grows by what it feeds upon. If we are good enough to be represented by five Georgia congressmen in the councils of the nation, we are surely good enough to choose those representatives; if we are not good enough to be represented, at least, as human beings, we are too good to be misrepresented by our enemies. We ask of this nation, therefore, the enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

We do not desire association with anyone who does not wish our company, but we do expect, in a Christian, civilized land, to live under a system of law and order, to be secure in life and limb and property, to travel in comfort and decency, and to receive a just equivalent for our money; and yet we are the victims of the most unreasoning sorts of caste legislation; we pay first-class railway fares for second-class accomodations; we are denied access to first-class cars and to sleeping cars; we are segregated, mistreated and harassed on street cars; and in all cases not only is a seperation contrary to common sense enforced, but the law is interpreted and administered so as to let white men go where they please and do as they please, and so as to restrict colored people to the most uncomfortable places.

We ask for an abolition of Jim-Crow cars on railroads and the substitution of first and second class cars, which would seperate men according to condition and not according to color.

The menace of the drunken unreasoning mob hangs ever above us. Since 1886, 200 Georgia Negroes have been lynched and burned without the semblance of a legal trial, not to mention hundreds of unaccused persons who have been murdered.

We ask the right to enter the militia of Georgia. We have fought for this country in four wars and if we are good enough to fight we are good enough to be trained for fighting.

We ask further, representation on the juries of the State. Trial by one's peers is one of the fundamental rights of common law, and this is systematically denied in Georgia.

Far be it from us to claim any great and especial righteousness of our own. We are a sinful people who have not lived up to the fullness of our narrow opportunity. The sense of our shortcomings is heavy upon us, and there are those among us whose wicked ways shame us bitterly. We are not, however, as bad as the wilfully distorted and criminally unfair press reports picture us; on the contrary we can take honest comfort in the fact that we are growing daily in honesty, sobriety, industry and chasity; and God alone knows how much faster we might grow were it not for the open traffic in Negro crime which flourishes in this State, and were it not for the defenseless condition of our daughters. As long as public and private wealth in Georgia fattens on the sale of black criminals, so long will crime be encouraged and the outcry against it will ring with hypocrisy.

Colored men are punished in this State without intelligent discrimination; old and young, thug and mischief-maker, and often men and women, are herded together after unfair trials before juries who would rather convict ten innocent Negroes than let one guilty one escape. The sentences inflicted are cruel and excessive; 25 per cent. of the convicts are condemned for life and 60 per cent. for ten years or more. White men often escape conviction or are promptly pardoned. These slaves of the State are then sold body and soul to private capitalists for the sake of gain, without the shadow of an attempt at reformation, and are thrown into relentless competition with free Negro laborers.

The fortune of many a prominent white Georgia family is red with the blood and sweat of black men justly and unjustly held to labor in Georgia prison camps; the State to-day is receiving $225,000 a year of this blood money and boasts of her ability to make crime pay.

As long as any white man is openly taught disrespect for black womanhood so long will his degradation be the damnation of some black man's daughter. Let us black men then look to the care and protection of our wives and daughters. Let us, as far as possible, keep them at home and support them there, and defend their honor with our lives.

To stand up thus in our own defense, we must earn a decent living. We must work hard. We must buy land and homes. We must encourage Negro business men. And at the same time we must agitate, complain, protest and keep protesting against the invasion of our manhood rights; we must besiege the legislature, carry our cases to the courts, and above all organize these million brothers of ours into one great fist which shall never cease to pound at the gates of opportunity until they fly open.

Brethren of the white race, living together as we do, let us be friends and not enemies. Let us not stir up the darker, fiercer passions. Let us strive together, not as master and slave, but as man and man, equal in the sight of God and in the eye of the law, eager to make this historic State a land of peace, a place of plenty and an abode of Jesus Christ.

Thomas Lawson, writing in Everybody's Magazine on the "Black Flag of Finance," says: "The truth is that in high finance all civilized amenities have long been suspended. The black flag is to-day the Wall street standard. Thuggery and assassination are so much the rule that nowadays all parties to a business transaction wear armor and carry stilettos. Property rights are vested in power; the sole license to have, is strength to hold; to covet another man's railway or factory, is, if you be the stronger, full warrant and charter to its possession. In the pursuit of 'more dollars' greed and cunning lead the pack; kindliness, fair dealing and truth have lost the scent. To-day the penal code is Wall street's Bible; its priest, the corporation lawyer; conscience is a fear of legal consequences; the sole crime, being caught; talent and character are best proved by a large bank account; to err is to fail; continued success in speculation and a few years' immunity from retributive justice constitute a reputation for virtue and stability that finds its highest justification as a handy asset behind a bond issue.

"It is the deplorable fact that in carrying through the great deals that have marked the last few years, it has become a habit for man to lie, cheat, bribe and commit perjury, and there is no more condemnation of such practices among those who are to-day the representatives of finance in America than there was in earlier times for the close-fisted driver of a hard but honest bargain. This is a broad statement, but everything I have written so far and the events of the last twelve months prove it is not exaggerated."

Liberator Group, New York.

The Liberator Group of New York meets every first and third Sunday of the month at 415 Grand St., first floor, at 8 p. m. sharp.

Those interested in the English propaganda are earnestly requested to come to our meetings.

AROUSE, YE SLAVES.

The latest and boldest stroke of the plutocracy, but for the blindness of the people, would have startled the nation.

Murder has been plotted and is about to be executed in the name and under the forms of law.

Men who will not yield to corruption and browbeating must be ambushed, spirited away and murdered.

That is the edict of the Mine Owners' association of the western states and their Standard Oil backers and pals in Wall Street, New York.

These gory-beaked vultures are to pluck out the heart of resistance to their tyranny and robbery, that labor may be stark-naked at their mercy.

Charles Moyer and Wm. D. Haywood, of the Western Federation of Miners, and their official colleagues—men, all of them, and every inch of them—are charged with the assassination of ex-Governor Frank Steunenberg, of Idaho, who simply reaped what he had sown, as a mere subterfuge to pounce upon them in secret, rush them out of the state by special train, under heavy guard, clap them into the penitentiary, convict them upon the purchased, perjured testimony of villians and then strangle them to death with the hangman's noose.

It is a foul plot; a damnable conspiracy; a hellish outrage.

The governors of Idaho and Colorado say they have the proof to convict. They are brazen falsifiers and venal villians, the miserable tools of the mine owners who, themselves, if anyone does, deserve the gibbet.

Moyer, Haywood and their comrades had no more to do with the assassination of Steunenberg than I had; the charge is a ghastly lie, a criminal calumny and is only an excuse to murder men who are too rigidly honest to betray their trust and too courageous to succumb to threat and intimidation.

Labor leaders that cringe before the plutocracy and do its bidding are apotheosized; those that refuse must be foully murdered.

Personally and intimately do I know Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone, St. John and their official co-workers, and I will stake my life on their honor and integrity; and that is precisely the crime for which, according to the words of the slimy "sleuth" who "worked up the case" against them, "they shall never leave Idaho alive."

Well; by the gods, if they don't the governors of Idaho and Colorado and their masters from Wall street, New York, to the Rocky Mountains had better prepare to follow them.

Nearly twenty years ago the capitalist tyrants put some innocent men to death for standing up for labor.

They are now going to try it again. Let them dare!

There have been twenty years of revolutionary education, agitation and organization since the Haymarket tragedy, and if an attempt is made to repeat it, there will be a revolution and I will do all in my power to precipitate it.

The crisis has come and we have got to meet it. Upon the issue involved the whole body of organized labor can unite and every enemy of plutocracy will join us. From the farms, the factories and stores will pour the workers to meet the red-handed destroyers of freedom, the murderers of innocent men and the arch-enemies of the people.

Moyer and Haywood are our comrades, staunch and true, and if we do not stand by them to the shedding of the last drop of blood in our veins we are disgraced forever and deserve the fate of cringing cowards.

We are not responsible for the issue. It is not of our seeking. It has been forced upon us; and for the very reason that we deprecate violence and abhor bloodshed we cannot desert our comrades and allow them to be put to death. If they can be murdered without cause so can we, and so will we be dealt with at the pleasure of these tyrants.

They have driven us to the wall, and now let us rally our forces and face them and fight.

If they attempt to murder Moyer, Haywood and their brothers, a million revolutionists, at least, will meet them with guns.

They have done their best and their worst to crush and enslave us. Their politicians have betrayed us, their courts have thrown us into jail without trial and their soldiers have shot our comrades dead in their tracks.

The worm turns at last, and so does the worker.

Let them dare to execute their devilish plot and every state in this union will resound with the tramp of revolution.

Get ready, comrades, for action! No other course is left to the working class. Their courts are closed to us except to pronounce our doom. To enter their courts is simply to be mulcted of our meagre means and bound hand and foot; to have our eyes plucked out by the vultures that fatten upon our misery.

Capitalist courts never have done, and never will do, anything for the working class.

Whatever is done we must do ourselves, and if we stand up like men from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to the Gulf, we will strike terror to their cowardly hearts and they will be but too eager to relax their grip upon our throats and beat a swift retreat.

We will watch every move they make and in the meantime prepare for action.

A special revolutionary convention of the proletariat at Chicago, or some other central point, would be in order, and, if extreme measures are required, a general strike could be ordered and industry paralyzed as a preliminary to a general uprising.

If the plutocrats begin the program, we will end it.

Eugene V. Debs.

ALBERT PARSONS' SPEECH.

(Continued from Page 1.)

—and his testimony is overwhelmingly impeached, as I remarked before—connected the other two—two only—of these men with the tragedy at the Haymarket at all.

Now, with these facts, the attempt to make out a case of conspiracy against us is a contemptible farce. What were the facts testified to by the two so-called informers? They said that two of these defendants were present at the so-called conspiracy meeting of Monday night. What then, have you done with the other six men who were not members—who were not present, and did not know of the meeting being held Monday night? These two so-called informers testified that at the so-called conspiracy meeting of May 3, it was resolved that in the future, when police and militia should attack and club and kill workingmen at their meetings, then, and then only, they were in duty bound to help defend these working people against such unlawful, unrighteous, and outrageous assaults. That was all that was said or done. Was that a conspiracy? If it was, your honor, it was a conspiracy to do right and oppose what is wrong.

But your sentence says that it is criminal for the workingmen to resolve to defend their lives and their liberties and their happiness against brutal, bloody and unlawful assaults of the police and militia.

Look at this jury for a moment, observe the material of which it was composed. There was Juryman Todd; when he was accepted on the jury he described himself as a clothing salesman, and a Baptist. As soon as the verdict had been rendered he was, of course, interviewed. He said:

"This was a picked jury; they were all gentlemen. You see, Major Cole, who was the first juror accepted, and myself took the other jurors in hand as soon as they were accepted." Major Cole, you will remember, described himself as a bookkeeper, and an Episcopalian. Todd, in his interview, went on to tell how, notwithstanding their virtuous professions, when they went to the jury room they played cards; they also played the fiddle and guitar and piano, and sang songs. In fact, these gentlemen had a very merry time of it while engaged in the trial of the seven Anarchists for their lives, and they had to bring a verdict as becomes gentlemen, of course. What with songs, music, carriage drives and high life at a fashionable hotel, parlor theatricals in the evening, these twelve gentlemen managed to kill their time, and finally returned a verdict to kill these abominable seven Anarchists, these workingmen, whose lives, of course, were beneath the serious consideration of the elegant gentlemen—these nice gentlemen.

Before the trial began, during its prosecution, and since its close, a satanic press has shrieked and howled itself wild like ravenous hyenas for the blood of these eight workingmen. Now this subsidized press, in the pay of monopoly and of labor enslavers, commanded this court and commanded this jury and this prosecution to convict us.

As a fitting climax to this damnable conspiracy against our lives and liberty, what follows? (The speaker raised his arms and pointed his finger to the statue of the blind "Goddess of Justice" over the judge's stand.) Oh! hide your eyes now; hide them! hide them! It is well that your eyes are bandaged and your vision obscured, for could you have witnessed the corruption and infamy practiced in your name during this trial, you would have fled from this temple forever! As a fitting climax to this damnable conspiracy against our lives and liberty some of Chicago's millionaires proposed to raise a purse of $100,000 and present it to the jury for their verdict against us. This was done, as everybody knows, in the last days of the trial, and since this verdict, so far as anybody knows to the contrary, this blood money has been paid over to that jury; besides, these jurymen, since the rendition of their verdict, have been feted. They have been wined, and dined, and banqueted, and costly gifts have been bestowed upon them with a lavish hand by the enemies of human rights and human equality. "Oh! shame, where is thy blush! Oh, virtue, hast thou fled to brutish beasts!"

No man was permitted to serve on this jury who was tainted with the slightest sympathy for the working class in their struggles against monopoly. But to every one of the 1,139 men, who were summoned as jurors by the State's attorney, the State's attorney put these questions: "Are your a member of a trade and labor union? Are you a member of the Knights of Labor? Have you any sympathy with Communists, Anarchists, and Socialists?" And every one who answered in the affirmative was summarily told that he was excused. Only five persons out of 1,200 jurymen who were summoned were among the list; I mean there were only five workingmen of the 1,200 called. The deputy sheriff, Mr. Rice—I believe that is his name—it has been sworn to in our plea for a new trial, your honor, that he summoned this jury, and the affidavit is on file before you that Deputy Sheriff Rice, who had charge of the summoning of the jurymen, declared he would summon those who would hang us to death. Such infamy is unparalleled.

The jury was a packed one; the jury was composed of men who arrogate to themselves the right to dictate and rob the wage workers whom they regard as their hired men; they regard workingmen as their inferiors and not "gentlemen." Thus a jury was obtained, whose business it was to convict us of Anarchy whether they found any proof of murder or not. The whole trial was conducted to condemn Anarchy. "Anarchy is on trial," said Mr. Ingham. "Hang these eight men and save our institutions," shouted Grinnell; "these are the leaders; make examples of them." yelled the prosecution in addressing the court and jury. Yes, we are Anarchists, and for this, your honor, we stand condemned. Can it be that men are to suffer death for their opinions? "These eight defendants," said the State's attorney to the jury, "were picked out and indicted by the grand jury. They are no more guilty than are the thousands who will follow them. They were picked out because they were leaders." "Convict them and our society is safe," shouted the prosecution. And this in America, the land for which our fathers fought and freely shed their blood that we, their posterity, might enjoy the right of free speech, free press, and unmolested assemblage.

(Continued next week.)

A PREACHER NOT AFRAID TO TALK.

A dispatch from New Haven, Conn., says: "In an address on wages and capital last night the Rev. Charles R. Brown, of Oakland, Cal., a lecturer in the Lyman course, bitterly denounced present economic conditions before the Yale Divinity School students.

"'In our own republic,' he said, 'the prospects have forced many children of America to serve with rigor and have made their lives bitter with bondage. Are not these wage slaves among us, the main difference being that their vital owners have now been freed from the responsibility of caring for them when they are sick or unemployed? Are there not hundreds of weary workingmen, taxed steadily beyond their strength, wearing out before their time, receiving far less than an equitable share of the prosperity they help to create?

"'Are there not hundreds of tired clerks and bookkeepers insufficiently paid, working far into night, sometimes in hideous little upper berths of offices put up near the ceiling like swallows' nests to save floor space and rent—to reap profit for those who are living in a weak and debilitated luxury which is made possible for them by the lack of equity in the sharing of the profits of the business? Have not New York, Chicago and San Francisco as much to say about lives made bitter by hard bondage as Thebes and Karnak?

"'Is it right that a man should give his whole life and the life of his children, as soon as they are old enough to leave school and work, for a bare subsistence, for a tenth, it may be, of what is recklessly wasted in the house of his employer?

"'Is it right that one mortal should live in a useless and debilitating luxury, able to satisfy every trifling fancy, while many of those whose labor he had exploited, every whit his equals, it may be, in moral enjoyment, should be unable to secure the bare necessities?'"

POVERTY.

(Lilia De Witt.)

Have you dwelt in the chill of that shadow
That strikes through the blood to the bone?
Do you know what it is to be hungry,
And homeless, and old, and alone?
Have you stretched your spent limbs on the pavement,
And had for your pillow, a stone?

Have you toiled 'neath the weight of that shadow
As brutes toil, despairing and dumb,
Has the burden been laid on your manhood
Till every good impulse was numb?
Have you slaved without hope and a blessing,
And lived on a curse and a crumb?

Have you seen some loved face in the shadow
Grow grey in the darkness and gloom
While without lay the Lord's blessed sunshine?
There was room, yes, God knows there was room,
But someone had bought up the sunshine,
And love found no place but the tomb.

Have you tried to escape from that shadow
Like a thief from his prison of stone?
Have you crawled through its gloom, torn and bleeding,
And found yourself never alone?
It is greed that is casting the shadow,
And grasping God's earth for its own.

Oh, the night and the blight of the shadow!
No language its terrors can tell,
One must pass, as did Dante, the portal,
And tread the deep caverns of hell,
One must toil to the wall of the lost ones,
Condemned in its darkness to dwell.

One must dwell with the souls in the shadow
To know what they feel in their need.
For all are God's, made in His image
And all are His children who bled.

Pasadena, California.

GRAND OFFER!

Attention Comrades and Subscribers!

LIFE OF ALBERT R. PARSONS FREE.

Any person sending in five yearly subscribers with money ($5.00) will receive by return mail one copy of this valuable book. See ad on 4th page of this paper. Now, comrades, get to work and you will soon have a book free. Add 15c for postage.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ADOPTED BY THE ANARCHISTS' CONGRESS, HELD IN PITTSBURG, PA.

To the Workingmen of America.

Fellow-Workmen: The Declaration of Independence says:

"* * * But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them (the people) under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such Government and provide new guards for their future security."

This thought of Thomas Jefferson was the justification for armed resistance by our forefathers, which gave birth to our Republic, and do not the necessities of our present time compel us to reassert their declaration?

Fellow-workmen, we ask you to give us your attention for a few moments. We ask you to candidly read the following manifesto issued in your behalf; in behalf of your wives and children; in behalf of humanity and progress.

Our present society is founded on the exploitation of the propertyless by the propertied. The exploitation is such that the propertied (capitalist) buy the working force, body and soul, of the propertyless, for the price of the mere cost of existence (wages), and take for themselves (i. e., steal) the amount of new values (products) which exceeds the price, whereby wages are made to represent the necessities instead of the earnings of the wage-laborer.

As the non-possessing classes are forced by their poverty to offer for sale to the propertied their working forces, and as our present production on a grand scale enforces technical development with immense rapidity, so that by the application of an always decreasing number of human working force an always increasing amount of products is created; so does the supply of working force increase constantly, while the demand therefore decreases. This is the reason why the workers compete more and more intensely in selling themselves, causing their wages to sink, or at least on the average never raising them above the margin necessary for keeping intact their working ability.

Whilst by this process the propertyless are entirely debarred from entering the ranks of the propertied, even by the most strenuous exertions, the propertied, by means of the ever-increasing plundering of the working class, are becoming richer day by day, without in any way being themselves productive.

If now and then one of the propertyless class become rich it is not by their own labor, but from opportunities which they have to speculate upon and absorb the labor product of others.

With the accumulation of individual wealth the greed and power of the propertied grows. They use all the means for competing among themselves for the robbery of the people. In this struggle generally the less-propertied (middle class) are overcome, while the great capitalists, par excellence, swell their wealth enormously, concentrate entire branches of production, as well as trade and inter-communication, into their hands, and develop into monopolies. The increase of products, accompanied by simultaneous decrease of the average income of the working mass of the people, leads to so-called "business" and "commercial" crises, when the misery of the wage-workers is forced to the extreme.

For illustration: The last census of the United States shows that after deducting the cost of raw material, interest, rents, risks, etc., the propertied class have absorbed—i. e., stolen—more than five-eighths of all products, leaving scarcely three-eighths to the producers. The propertied class being scarcely one-tenth of our population, and in spite of their luxury and extravagance, are unable to consume their enormous "profits," and the producers unable to consume more than they receive—three-eighths —so-called "overproductions" must, necessarily take place. The terrible results of panics are well known.

The increasing eradication of working forces from the productive process annually increases the percentage of the propertyless population, which becomes pauperized and is driven to "crime," vagabondage, prostitution, suicide, starvation, and general depravity. This system is unjust, insane, and murderous. It is, therefore, necessary to totally destroy it with and by all means, and with the greatest energy on the part of every one who suffers by it and who does not want to be made culpable for its continued existence by his inactivity.

Agitation for the purpose of organization; organization for the purpose of rebellion. In these few words the ways are marked which the workers must take if they want to be rid of their chains. As the economic condition is the same in all countries of so-calleld "civilization;" as the Governments of all Monarchies and Republics work hand in hand for the purpose of opposing all movements of the thinking part of the workers; as, finally, the victory in the decisive combat of the proletarians against their oppressors can only be gained by the simultaneous struggle along the whole line of the bourgeois (capitalistic) society—so, therefore, the international fraternity of people as expressed in the International Working People's Association presents itself a self-evident necessity.

True order should take its place. This can only be achieved when all implements of labor, the soil and other premises of production—in short, capital produced by labor—is changed into societary property. Only by this presupposition is destroyed every possibility of the future spoliation of man by man. Only by common, undivided capital can all be enabled to enjoy in their fullness the fruits of the common toil. Only by the impossibility of accumulating individual (private) capital can everyone be compelled to work who makes a demand to live.

This order of things allows production to regulate itself according to the demand of the whole people, so that nobody need work more than a few hours a day, and that all nevertheless can supply their needs. Hereby time and opportunity are given for opening to the people the way to the highest possible civilization; the privileges of higher intelligence fall with the privileges of wealth and birth. To the achievement of such a system the political organizations of the capitalistic classes—be they Monarchies or Republics—form the barriers. These political structures (States), which are completely in the hands of the propertied, have no other purpose than the upholding of the present disorder of exploitation.

All laws are directed against the working people. In so far as the opposite appears to be the case, they serve on one hand to blind the worker, while on the other hand they are simply evaded. Even the school serves only the purpose of furnishing the offspring of the wealthy with those qualities necessary to uphold their class domination. The children of the poor get scarcely a formal elementary training, and this, too, is directed to such branches as tend to producing prejudices, arrogance, and servility; in short, want of sense. The capitalistic press, on the other hand, takes care of the confusion of spirits in public life. All these institutions, far from aiding in the education of the masses, have for their object the keeping in ignorance of the people. They are all in the pay and under the direction of the capitalistic classes. The workers can therefore expect no help from any capitalistic party in their struggle against the existing system. They must achieve their liberation by their own efforts. As in former times a privileged class never surrendered its tyranny, neither can it be expected that the capitalists of this age will give up their rulership without being forced to do it.

If there ever could have been any question on this point it should long ago have been dispelled by the brutalities which the bourgeois of all countries—in America as well as in Europe—constantly commit, as often as the proletariat anywhere energetically move to better their condition. It becomes, therefore, self-evident that the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeois will be of a violent revolutionary character.

We could show by scores of illustrations that all attempts in the past to reform this monstrous system by peaceable means, such as the ballot, have been futile, and all such efforts in the future must necessarily be so, for the following reasons:

The political institutions of our time are the agencies of the propertied class; their mission is the upholding of the privileges of their masters; any reform in your own behalf would curtail these privileges. To this they will not, and cannot consent, for it would be suicidal to themselves.

That they will not resign their privileges voluntarily we know; that they will not make any concessions to us we likewise know. Since we must then rely upon the kindness of our master for whatever redress we have, and knowing that from them no good may be expected, there remains but one recourse—force! Our forefathers have not only told us that against despots force is justifiable, because it is the only means, but they themselves have set the immemorial example.

By force our ancestors liberated themselves from political oppression, by force their children will have to liberate themselves from economic bondage. "It is the conflict, right, it is your duty," says Jefferson, "to arm!"

What we would achieve is, therefore, plainly and simply:

First—Destruction of the existing class rule by all means—i. e., by energetic, relentless, revolutionary, and international action.

Second—Establishment of a free society based upon co-operative organization of production.

Third—Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit-mongery.

Fourth—Organization of education on a secular, scientific, and equal basis for both sexes.

Fifth—Equal rights for all, without distinction to sex or race.

Sixth—Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous (independent) Communes and associations, resting on a federalistic basis.

Whoever agrees with this idea let him grasp our outstretched brotherhands!

Proletarians from all countries, unite!

Fellow-workmen, all we need for the achievement of this great end is organization and unity.

The day has come for solidarity! Join our ranks! Let the drum beat defiantly the roll of battle: "Workmen of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have the world to win!"

Issued by the Pittsburg Congress of the International Working Peoples' Association, on October 16, 1883.

CORRESPONDENCE

THAT "FAIR TRIAL" TWADLE AGAIN.

Mr. Editor:—Do you not think it is best for the Socialists and members of organized labor in the United States and elsewhere, in regard to the kidnapping of Moyer and Haywood to demand an honest, fair trial and see that they get it, rather than to go to threatening about the matter. After they have been tried and convicted unfairly, will be plenty of time to take steps to prevent by force "if deemed best" their execution. It took us people of the South four long bloody years to learn that we could not whip a crowd that we could not out-vote. A working man who does not have sense enough to vote right will not have sense enough to fight right. Please do not overlook this? The man the quickest to talk, gun and fight is not usually the man who uses a gun or fights when a clash really comes. I believe those men are innocent. Let's prove this. Let's clear them. If they are innocent it can be done. If they are not proven guilty and it takes guns to prevent their murder, then I say guns too. We will have no more judicial murders in these United States as was done in Chicago a few years ago, when an innocent Waco, Texas, boy, with a rope around his neck, standing under a gallows, on a trap door, waiting only a few moments to be launched into eternity, with a smile on his face said, "If the great State of Illinois can afford to hang an innocent man I can afford to be hanged. A few years rolled on, and the Democratic governor of that state said that he was an innocent man. I am a radical Revolutionary Socialist. The Revolution I am trying to bring about is a revolution of intelligence, and not force. Respectfully,

G. B. Harris,

Bruceville, Tex., March 11, 1906.

* * *

"Let us clear them if they are innocent." In great state trials, where a person's ideas, principles or opinions are put on trial by the ruling class or "the powers that be," it cannot be placed in the same category as a mere criminal, who has no principle, but is a violation of some of the statutory enactments. Does our correspondent assume that Jesus Christ was granted a "fair trial." Did Bruno have a fair trial? Did the victims of the inquisition have fair trials? Could George Washington have obtained a fair trial by a jury selected by George III? Did the Chicago Anarchists have a fair trial? Anyone thinking so have but to read Governor J. P. Altgeld's "Pardon." So it is with Moyer and Haywood, if they were mere ordinary criminals few would concern themselves about their case, any more than the thousand and one cases being tried every day. *But it is not these men that are wanted*, it is to break up the Western Federation of Miners that the Mine Owners' Association are after. If it were a matter of simple justice that is sought, why was not those men granted the same privileges and protection under the law as the most cold-blooded murderer? Why were they kidnaped and spirited out of the state of Colorado—under a heavy, armed guard on a special train in the night? Are these circumstances reassuring that they will be granted a fair trial? Does not the whole proceeding indicate that there is a conspiracy to get innocent men out of the way? "After they have been tried and convicted unfairly," etc. Why, the whole thing is unfair. What is the use of talking about fairness where the prosecution represents millions and the defense poverty? Has not the infamous wretch McParland already stated that they "will never leave Idaho alive?" Why, that man and his ilk are a disgrace and would not be tolerated in a self-respecting, civilized community. Whether Debs talks or keeps quiet, those men will be convicted, then we will see what the American people will do about it.

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DON'T BE TOO GOOD TO YOUR HUSBAND.

By Helen Oldfield.

There are few virtues which may not be carried to excess, whereupon the good quality, however admirable in itself, becomes by reason of such exaggeration objectionable, it may be even vicious. Neither is usefulness, with all its beauty, an exception to the rule; pushed to the point of utter self-abnegation it is good neither for oneself nor for others. It is not every one who possesses a correct sense of perspective, spiritually or bodily, and thus many fail to realize that along the road which leads to such excess there are many way stations. Unselfishness and self-abnegation are by no means synonymous, excepting in so far as one is the positive, the other the superlative degree of the same principle. And while self-seeking is the canker at the root of love; selfishness, exacting and jealous as to tithes and offerings, incompatible with sincere affection; the spirit of conscious self-sacrifice is to the full as alien to genuine permanent love. Love loves for his own sake, even while he loves another better than himself. Which, indeed, is no small part of the mystery of love; that which is greatest is also a servant:

"That loves reigns a king
Where storms cannot reach him,
And words cannot sting."

And simultaneously:

"That love is a slave
Who dreads thoughts of freedom
As joy dreads the grave."

It is one of the things none may explain to any other, but which everyone feels unmistakably when the hour and the man or woman arrive. True love is, and always must be, unselfish, but it is because the greater absorbs the less. Self is eliminated only as it is swallowed up into a nearer and dearer self. Under these conditions it becomes the lover's greatest happiness to make another happy, and this desire being mutual, the twain shall be one flesh, sympathetic, harmonious, and devoted, each to each. It often is claimed that the love of woman is more unselfish than that of man, in that it is given to make her lover happy; a man's love, on the other hand, is of and for himself, and his chief idea in wooing is to make himself happy, the woman whom he wooes being a second consideration. Which, even when it fits the case, is a sophism. It cannot be too often reiterated, nor too strenuously insisted upon, that no one, whether man or woman, has the right to marry for the sake of any but oneself. Self-sacrifice is admirable and beautiful, but in such a case it is as though one were to offer a stately marble statue of inestimable worth to him who was famishing for bread. Unless one marries for one's own sake and because that way happiness lies for oneself one had best not marry at all. The true inwardness of the matter is that by so doing one finds one's truest joy is giving joy to another whom one loves beyond oneself. The old bachelor, who, when asked why he had never married, replied: "Because I never have found any woman whom I loved better than myself," had gauged the breadth and depth of the whole question. In marriage, moreover, it is not enough to love one's neighbor as oneself; that closest neighbor of all, the husband or wife, must be nearer and dearer than the Ego, and therefore necessary to one's happiness.

Nevertheless, utter self-surrender is rarely wise. No woman, especially, ought to love her lover too well, or if such self-control is beyond her power, the laws of self-protection demand that she shall never, under any circumstances, allow him to understand that she does so. Most men (the exceptions are as scarce as hen's teeth) resemble one's shadow in that if one pursues them they flee, if one flees they follow close upon one's heels. Men object upon principle to the woman who yields too much. No man appreciates dog like devotion from the woman whom he wooes, even though he may accept it more or less graciously, and the wife who abdicates too much is apt to find herself bankrupt with no tangible return for her lavish outlay.

Later on, when the lovers are wedded, the wife will do well to remember that although it is her duty, and ought to be her pleasure, to do all that she can to add to her husband's comfort, she owes it to him, as well as to herself, never to degenerate into a domestic drudge. The woman who abases herself to black her husband's boots, literally or figuratively, has no cause to complain if he treats her as a slave rather than as an equal, and accepts her humble devotion as his natural right, possibly without the bare formula of thanks. Mutual respect is the one and only secure basis for married happiness, a fact which cannot be too strongly impressed upon the mind. Such respect cannot exist unless it is founded upon self-respect. It is part of the same proposition that the foolish husband who treats his wife as a spoiled child, a pet, and a plaything, has no right to feel injured if, when an emergency arises in which he needs the companionship of an intelligent woman, she persists in the role to which he has accustomed her and can afford him neither aid nor comfort.

In order to be a good wife one must not be too good. It is all well, so far as it goes, for a newly married wife to listen and believe her husband when he assures her that he is happier than ever before, and that his home is dearer to him than any club on earth, but it is far from well if she looks miserable, perhaps even weeps, the first time that he intimates that he would like to revisit his old haunts "just to see what the fellows are about." This is not a wisely chosen method to convince him of the superior attractions of his own home and fireside. There is a certain fascination in club life to most men. For some this fascination contains an element of danger, for some not. When a man tires of it and wants a home it is usually because there is a worthy longing in his nature for something better and more satisfactory. But no man can be expected to give up his old friends and all of his old associations because he marries. The fact that he wants a frolic with "the boys" now and then is not an indication that he is tired of his home, and to resent it as such is a fatal mistake.

As Amiel says: "There is in man an instinct of revolt, an enemy of all law, a rebel which will stoop to no yoke, not even that of reason, duty, and wisdom." When the tether by which a man, any man, is held becomes too tight he is apt to break away. The rope must be long and it must be strong. The single strand of love is often insufficient of itself. Common sense and tact must be two strands of the rope to make it strong enough to serve as a cable for the domestic ship. The too affectionate wife trusts entirely to one strand and the ship breaks anchor.

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